

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 INRE-00 ACDA-12 IO-13
EB-08 /091 W
-----023774 281719Z /40

O R 281524Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE
SECSTATE WASHDC 224
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 4490

PEKING FOR AMBASSADOR WOODCOCK

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HU, CH, XH, PGOV
SUBJECT: CHINESE-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

REF: A) BUDAPEST 2914, B) MOSCOW 17607, C) BELGRADE 8715,
D) MOSCOW 1805, E) PEKING 3028

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1. SUMMARY: CHINESE HAVE CLEARLY MADE OVERTURES TO
GOH TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS. HUNGARIANS ARE
SUSPICIOUS OF CHINESE INTENTIONS. ACCORDING TO FOREIGN
NEWS EDITOR OF HSWP PARTY PAPER, IMPROVED POLITICAL
RELATIONS CANNOT TAKE PLACE SO LONG AS CHINA OPPOSES
DETENTE, REJECTS DISARMAMENT AND DISRUPTS UNITY OF
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. ON OTHER HAND,

CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC TIES MIGHT BE IMPROVED AS A BASIS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL RELATIONS SOMETIME IN FUTURE.

2. IN EMBASSY'S VIEW, HUNGARY WILL NOT REJECT CHINESE BUT WILL BE CAUTIOUS SINCE CHINA HAS LITTLE IT CAN OFFER HUNGARY AND SINCE HUNGARIANS REGARD CHINESE DOMESTIC SITUATION AS UNSTABLE. IF CHINESE REALLY WISH TO IMPROVE THEIR TIES WITH HUNGARIANS, THEY WILL HAVE TO MOVE PRUDENTLY WITH FULL ATTENTION TO PRIMACY HUNGARIAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. END SUMMARY.

3. ACCORDING REFS B AND C, COUNSELOR OF HUNGARIAN EMBASSY BELGRADE HAS INDICATED CHINESE HAVE BEEN MAKING OVERTURES TO HUNGARIANS WITH VIEW TOWARD IMPROVING RELATIONS. DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NAGY (REF A) ACKNOWLEDGED SUCH OVERTURES LAST AUGUST IN A CONVERSATION WITH DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LUERS. JUST PRIOR TO CHRISTMAS, FERENC VARNAI, FOREIGN NEWS EDITOR OF NEPSZABADSAG ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED TO POLOFF THAT OVERTURES HAD RECENTLY BEEN MADE BY CHINESE.

4. NAGY TOLD LUERS THAT CHINESE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE NOT SEEKING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS. HE ALSO SAID HUNGARY WILL NOT BE A PARTY TO CHINESE EFFORTS TO USE EAST EUROPEANS AS A WAY OF GETTING AT SOVIET UNION.

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5. IN THIS CONNECTION, VARNAI, HSWP'S LEADING PRESS SPOESMAN ON CHINESE AFFAIRS CURRENTLY REGARDS CHINESE PRESS ATTACKS ON SOVIET UNION AS SHARP. HE ALSO TOLD POLOFF THAT HE WAS CONVINCED CHINA WAS OUT TO DIVIDE THE SOVIET UNION FROM ITS EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES INCLUDING HUNGARY. VARNAI SAID THAT IMPROVED CHINESE-HUNGARIAN POLITICAL RELATIONS CANNOT TAKE PLACE SO LONG AS CHINA OPPOSES DETENTE, REJECTS DISARMAMENT AND DISRUPTS UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. IN HIS VIEW, CPC HAS RIGHT LIKE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES TO PURSUE ITS OWN PATH DOMESTICALLY BUT NOT PURSUE FOREIGN POLICY WHICH THREATENS PEACE AND UNDERMINES WORLD COMMUNISM. HE ADDED THAT IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND EAST EUROPE MUST GO HAND IN HAND WITH IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID, HUNGARY WILL PROBABLY IMPROVE CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH CHINA WHILE AWAITING FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICIES.

6. THIS OCTOBER, HEAD OF HSWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S FOREIGN POLICY DEPARTMENT, JANOS BEREZ, TOLD STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELOR NIMITZ THAT IF U.S. TRIES TO USE CHINA FOR ITS WON PURPOSES IT WOULD BE FEARED BY WORLD

OCCASIONALLY, HUNGARIAN PRESS RAISES SPECTER OF U.S.-
CHINESE MILITARY ALLIANCE AGAINST SOVIET UNION. FERENC
VARNAI VIEWS CRUS OF SINO-SOVIET PROBLEM IS ATTEMPT BY
CHINA TO PLAY OFF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES
AGAINST EACH OTHER. ALL OF THIS MAY BE TRANSLATED INTO
A HUNGARIAN FEAR THAT CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY MAY UPSET
DETENTE, PARTICULARLY IF CHINESE CAN SOMEHOW INDUCE U.S.
TO TILT TOWARDS THEM RATHER THAN SOVIETS.

7. HUNGARIAN VIEW OF INTERNAL CHINESE SITUATION IS
VERY SIMILAR TO OUR OWN. THEY SEE INCREASING EVIDENCE
OF STRUGGLE BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF TENG HSIAO PING AND
HUA KUO FENG. WHILE THEY REGARD HUA AS WISHING TO WORK
OUT A COMPROMISE BETWEEN MAOISM AND ITS CADRES AND
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REATIONAL, PRAGMATIC ELEMENTS, THEY SEE TENG AS WANTING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 4490

TO REVERSE MAO'S POLICIES. VARNAI SAID HE EXPECTS FURTHER POLITICAL CHANGES. HE SPECIFICALLY POINTED OUT IT WOULD BE UNWISE FOR HUNGARY TO IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA NOW ONLY TO HAVE NEW LEADERS ACCEDE TO POWER.

8. ACCORDING TO VARNAI, NO ONE IN CHINA CAN TAKE A REALISTIC POLICY VIS A VIS THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AS LONG AS A POWER STRUGGLE CONTINUES BECAUSE BOTH SIDES ARE BUSILY DENOUNCING SOVIETS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL PURPOSES. HE BELIEVES IT IS NOT SO CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPORTANT WHO COMES OUT ON TOP IN CHINA AS THAT STABILITY BE RE-ESTABLISHED. AT SAME TIME, VARNAI SEEMED MORE SYMPATHETIC TOWARDS TENG HSIAO PINT. WHILE REGARDING SITUATION AS HIGHLY UNPREDICTABLE, HE THOUGHT TENHG HAD BEST CHANCES.

9. TO SET RECORD STRAIGHT, EMBASSY NOTES THAT CONTRARY TO OPINION OF ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT REPORTED REF D, HUNGARIAN PRESS IS NOT QUOTING WESTERN PRESS MORE THAN PRAVDA AND IZVESTIYA IN ITS REPORTING ON CHINA. WE HAVE NOTICED NO QUOTES FROM WESTERN PRESS OVER PAST TWO MONTHS, WHILE AN ARTICLE FROM TASS, PRAVDA OR IZVESTIYA ON CHINA PERIODICALLY APPEARS IN MAJOR PAPERS. MOST STRAIGHT NEWS REPORTING ON CHINA ORIGINATES WITH THE CORRESPONDENT OF THE HUNGARIAN NEWS SERVICE (MTI) POSTED IN PEKING. SIMILARLY ANALYSIS OF THE CHINESE SITUATION AND ITS POLICY IMPLICATIONS IS FOR MOST PART PROVIDED BY HUNGARIAN COMMENTATORS SUCH AS FERENC VARNAI, WHO, OF COURSE, ARE TOTALLY FAMILIAR WITH SOVIET LINE.

10. HUNGARIAN PRESS THROUGHOUT DECEMBER REPORTED ON CHINESE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OBJECTIVELY BUT CONTINUED TO CRITICIZE CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY AS CONTINUATION OF NEGATIVE MAOIST PRINCIPLES.

11. COMMENT: HUNGARY WILL ALWAYS BE INCLINED TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA, NOT ONLY BECAUSE IT IS SUSPICIOUS OF CHINESE INTENTIONS BUT BECAUSE CHINA CANNOT PRESENTLY HELP HUNGARY TO ADVANCE ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. IT IS SIMPLY TOO FAR AWAY AND HUNGARY TOO BOUND UP WITH SOVIET UNION. AS OBSERVED REF B, HUNGARY DOES NOT WISH TO CUT OFF FUTURE OPTIONS BY REJECTION OF CHINESE. THIS WOULD ALSO GO AGAINST JANOS KADAR'S STYLE OF MODERATE DIPLOMACY.

12. WHILE WE EXPECT HUNGARIANS WILL WISH TO IMPROVE
ECONOMIC LINKS AND CULTURAL LINKS AS VARNAI PREDICTS,
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WE BELIEVE THEY WILL BE CAUTIOUS FOR REASONS ALREADY
CITED BUT ALSO BECAUSE THEY REGARD PRESENT INTERNAL
SITUATION IN CHINA AS UNSTABLE.

13. AS SUGGESTED BY REFS C AND D, CHINA WOULD HAVE TO
RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT, AT LEAST TACITLY, THAT HUNGARY
IS A CLOSE ALLY FO THE SOVIET UNION AND WOULD UNDER NO
CIRCUMSTANCES COMPROMISE ITS RELATIONS WITH THAT COUNTRY
FOR THE SAKE OF IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH CHINA. AT THE VERY
LEAST, HUNGARY WOULD REQUIRE THAT ANY AGREED UPON
IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BE MADE KNOWN TO THE SOVIETS AND
THUS IN EFFECT APPROVED BY THEM. THEY MAY ALSO
HOPE THAT IN RETURN FOR ACQUIESCING IN IMPROVED RELATIONS
THE CHINESE MIGHT SIGNAL TO THE SOVIETS THROUGH THE
HUNGARIANS A DESIRE TO MODIFY SOME OF THEIR OBJECTIONALBE
FOREIGN OR INTERCOMMUNIST POLICIES. SUCH ACTION COULD
CONVINCINGLY CHANGE THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRIC-HUNGARIAN
RELATIONS FROM A THREAT TO SOVIET INTERESTS INTO A STEP
ADVANCING SOVIET INTERESTS AND WOULD ACCORD WITH HUNGARY'S
DESIRE TO SET ITSELF UP AS EVERYBODY'S FRIEND.

14. IN CONCLUSION, EMBASSY OBSERVES THAT CHINESE
EMBASSY HERE IS WELL STAFFED WITH PERCEPTIVE DIPLOMATS
WHO ARE FULLY AWARE OF HUNGARY'S INTERNATIONAL
SITUATION AND UNDERSTAND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH SOVIET
UNION. THEY ARE AWARE THAT, IF CHINESE RELALY DO WISH
TO IMPROVE THEIR TIES WITH HUNGARY, THEY WILL HAVE TO
MOVE PRUDENTLY AND WITH FULL ATTENTION TO THE PRIMACY
OF THE HUNGARIAN-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.

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